



## Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

2. *Some Papers of Franklin Pierce, 1852-1862.*

(First Installment.)

The following letters were found among the private papers and correspondence of President Franklin Pierce. For access to these papers and permission to publish such as are here presented grateful acknowledgments are due to the custodian of the originals, Hon. Kirk D. Pierce, nephew of President Pierce, an able and well-known lawyer residing in Hillsboro, N. H., the early home of the President. The letters were copied, edited, and contributed to the REVIEW by P. O. Ray, Instructor in History and Political Science of the Pennsylvania State College.

I. EDMUND BURKE<sup>1</sup> TO FRANKLIN PIERCE (UNSIGNED COPY).

Confidential.

WASHINGTON, April 9, 1852.

My dear Sir :

I came to this city about one fortnight ago on business connected with patents, now pending in Congress. And since I have been here I have had very considerable opportunity to learn the sentiments of politicians in relation to the next Democratic nomination for the Presidency. The three most prominent candidates for the nomination are Cass, Buchanan, and Douglass. Gen. Cass I think now has most friends although it seems to be the general impression that he can not get two-thirds of the Convention. Next to him Douglass is the most prominent. He has a good share of the Northwest to back him. After the Indiana delegation has given one vote for Gen. Lane they will go in for Douglass. So Wm. R. Brown tells me who is one of the Delegates at large. Tennessee and a portion of the Kentucky Delegation I understand will early come in to the support of Douglass. On the other hand, Mr. Buchanan seems to have but very little support out of Pennsylvania. Therefore, the struggle will be between Cass and Douglass. The old experienced politicians here are of the opinion that it will result in the defeat of both. Then of course the Convention will have to look about for a candidate among those who are not candidates directly for the nomination. Among these are Marcy, Dickinson, Butler, and Lynn Boyd, who are talked of. The two first will not unite the vote of N. Y., although the latter is very popular at the South. Gen. Butler a high-toned chivalrous and sound man seems to be under a cloud here in consequence of the fact that Benton

<sup>1</sup> See Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*. Burke had served several terms in the House as a representative from New Hampshire, and had been Commissioner of Patents from 1846 to 1850. Shortly after Pierce's inauguration Burke became a bitter enemy of the administration, often attacking its policy in the columns of the New Hampshire *State Capitol Reporter*. So bitter was his assault upon Douglas and the administration at the time when the Nebraska Bill was pending in Congress, that Douglas replied in a long letter, which appeared in the columns of the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette* (Concord), the organ of the administration in that state.

Blair, and that class of politicians put him forward. I do not think it possible for him to survive this prejudice, and therefore I think that the *N. H. Patriot* has been too fast in putting him forward. Out of Ky. he seems to be the choice of nobody except the freesoilers of N. Y., and perhaps of Judge Bright of Indiana. And Lynn Boyd is not now a formidable candidate.

Now in my judgment if at the proper time at the Convention you will allow your name to be used as a compromise candidate, you stand as good a chance of the nomination as any man I can now think of.

In casual conversation I have asked southern gentlemen how you would suit the South and they have invariably responded most favorably. I am boarding with Col. Barbour, President of the late Virginia Democratic Convention, and he says the South would cordially unite on you. He tells me that a majority of the Convention was for Buchanan in preference to Cass or Douglass. There is another very intelligent gentleman boarding with me from Florida, by the name of Blunt. Mr. Atherton<sup>1</sup> knows him. I believe he is a Whig. But he says that no Northern man would be more generally acceptable than yourself to the South. I have also talked with Floyd, M. C., from New York and he says both of the Democratic factions in that State would unite upon you. Hence I believe that you are among the very probable candidates for the Presidency, if you will allow your name to be used at the right time.

But I must say frankly that you have not been quite free enough with your friends in relation to this subject. I can not learn as anyone knows what you would do or consent to have others do in reference to the nomination. You hold out the idea that there is no office you will again accept. Unless your determination never to accept of *any office* is irrevocable, I think you should say that you place your destinies so far as the Presidency is concerned in the hands of your friends.

I do not of course think it prudent to put you forward as a candidate for the Presidency until the three prominent candidates are first disposed of. If they shall all be defeated in the Convention, then your name should be put forward as a compromise candidate.

You will see by the proceedings in the House (which will be followed up in the Baltimore Convention) that our ticket has got to be *entirely clear of freesoilism*. The very general idea that the N. Y. freesoilers, Rantoul, Cleaveland, and others, hope to regain position in the Democratic party by the election of Butler, kills off all his prospects. Therefore, in my firm belief the *Patriot* has started off in a wrong track.

I shall be here until the 1st of May I think. I see our client Brown has run away.

Yours truly,

[EDMUND BURKE.]

Gen. F. Pierce.

<sup>1</sup> Charles G. Atherton, of New Hampshire, author of the "Gag Resolution". See V, Burke to Pierce, June 6, 1852, p. 114.

## II. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO EDMUND BURKE (UNSIGNED COPY).

CONCORD, APL. 13, 1852.

*My dear Sir :*

I received your letter of the 9th inst. last night and desire without delay to acknowledge it with my thanks. I am quite surprised that you should speak of my not having been free enough with my friends upon the subject of your letter. I wrote to Atherton as I thought and felt.<sup>1</sup> What more had I apparently to say? Judging from what you say and what others have written within the last fortnight, the aspect of things has materially changed. The writing of that letter was a source of much dissatisfaction to my personal friends. But I deemed it a matter [of duty?] as things then presented themselves one of which I alone could judge. My heart was full of gratitude to my State as it had been many times before, to overflowing but it was at the same time more full of devotion to the party and I did not believe that N. H. or the National party had anything to gain by having my name in the list of aspirants. If you and my other discreet friends think (without reference to me personally) that the pride of our State, the success of the cause can be subserved by the use of my name then you must judge for me in view of all the circumstances. I wrote yesterday to my old friend French,<sup>2</sup> but hope he will confer with you and Norris<sup>3</sup> and Hibbard<sup>4</sup> and Peaslee<sup>5</sup>. I said to him in a hurry but more and more fully than I can say here. I must leave the matter to my friends at W. looking, as I am sure they will, to what is my duty and what may be the best interests of the party.

It is now 1 o'clock at night and I am in the midst of an important trial. Our client Brown ran discreetly. Write me as soon as you receive this.

Your friend

Hon. Edmund Burke,  
Washington, D. C.

[FRANKLIN PIERCE.]

P. S. I keep no copy and wish you would forward me one for I may need it in coming time. While I leave myself to my friends, they would desire me to keep my record clear, even if I had no such desire myself.

Tuesday night, 2 o'clock.

<sup>1</sup> At a ratification meeting held at Concord, June 10, 1852, Colonel John H. George of Concord is reported to have said: "On the 8th of January last the Democratic State Convention of New Hampshire unanimously presented the name of General Franklin Pierce to the people of the nation as a candidate for the highest office in its gift. . . . Immediately after the action of the last State Convention, General Pierce wrote his letter to Mr. Atherton declining to be a candidate for the Presidency and declaring that the use of his name in any event before the Democratic National Convention would be utterly repugnant to his tastes and wishes. . ." See the *Patriot and Gazette* (Concord), June 16, 1852.

<sup>2</sup> Probably William H. French, aide-de-camp on General Pierce's staff during the Mexican War.

<sup>3</sup> Moses Norris, Jr., U. S. senator from New Hampshire.

<sup>4</sup> Harry Hibbard, a representative from New Hampshire.

<sup>5</sup> Charles H. Peaslee, representative from New Hampshire, 1847-1853.

III. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BALTIMORE, June 5, 1852.

*Dear General.*

We are in great hopes of nominating you this morning. The thing is about ripe. We have intimations from the delegations from Pennsylvania and Virginia that they will soon lead off for you. The South will come in, so will Maine, Conn, and I think all N. E. Michigan will also. The prospects are more encouraging than ever.

But you know the whole thing is contingent. So do not be too much elated. If God and the people give you the nomination and election, bear your honors calmly, meekly and with dignity. I have no doubt you will. You know I do not express opinions without a careful survey of the facts of the case. But in the opinion I now express I may be mistaken. We are all excited here and probably I may be more than usual.

The convention is about to work. Adieu. In haste,

Yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE.

IV. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BALTIMORE, June 5, 1852.

Afternoon.

*Dear General.*

I wrote you this morning that in all probability you would be nominated, and I said, if God and the people nominated and elected you, you must wear the transcendent honor with calmness, meekness and dignity, as becoming a true man and a Christian. I have no doubt you will. We have all done the best we could for you. We have pledged you to nothing except that you would be honest, faithful, true, discreet and just. We have no doubt you will fulfill all these pledges we have made for you.

The scene in the convention was grand—sublime. The cannon has already heralded your success. Mighty destiny, be true to it.

Gov. Dickinson tells me that New York will give you her vote by 30,000. The enthusiasm is tremendous. You unite all cliques.

Now your biography must be written. Send me the materials at Washington and I will prepare it for you. I have made arrangements already with Dr. Hebbé, the author of the *Universal History*, a man of great talent and distinction and great influence with the German population, to undertake and publish it at once in that language. [Name illegible] another German, will take the stump for you. I know these men well. They can do more for you with the foreign population than all others.

I think I can serve you best by remaining at Washington a few days. I know men from every state in the Union. *You will be elected.*

Yours truly,

F. Pierce.

EDMUND BURKE.

## V. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

BALTIMORE, June 6, 1852.

*Dear General.*

I suppose by this time you have heard of the result of the deliberations of the National Democratic Convention and have become "calm as a summer's morning". I think we did right in putting King on the ticket. You know he is Buchanan's bosom friend and thus a great and powerful interest is conciliated. Our nominations also please both wings of the Democratic party in New York. They were content with slaying each other and both will cordially unite on you. If Scott is nominated the great battle-ground will be in New York and Pennsylvania. The slave states will fall into our laps like ripe apples. I think your election is certain but I remember while I express my opinion, that all things pertaining to humanity are uncertain and therefore you upon whom the great honor has fallen must not be too elated or sanguine. You must prepare yourself for the result, whatever it may be. I think you will be elected because all cliques of the democracy are united on you as they were on Mr. Polk.

I wrote you to send your minutes for a biography. It is wanted immediately. Perhaps I may not be able to stay at Washington long enough to prepare it and perhaps you may not desire that I should do it. If not, Gen. Peaslee will do it well and I will see Dr. Hebbé and tell him to translate it at once into German. I am anxious to get home to Concord on account of a certain event. May it not be best to postpone the election of Senator until fall? If you are elected will you not then desire the election of your own first choice among the candidates? In that event would not Mr. Atherton<sup>1</sup> be the best man for you in that body, through whom the administration can speak? In the event of your election I, or one of the candidates, shall be glad to defer to your wishes. I have no doubt the Democratic members of the Legislature will now so far consult your wishes as to postpone the election, if you desire it.

I shall remain a few days at Washington on business at the Patent and Pension offices, and while I am here I will do all I can to arrange things for the coming campaign.

*I am in correspondence with Kossuth* and through Dr. Hebbé can do something with the foreign population. Kossuth has great influence with them and will naturally suppose *without any assurance* that a northern administration will sympathize more with the popular movement in Europe than a southern or Whig administration. Kossuth should be invited to New Hampshire, but should receive nothing from you but courtesies and civilities. I am also acquainted with the editor of the leading German paper in the United States and have promised to see

<sup>1</sup> Charles G. Atherton, reëlected to the Senate in November, 1852. Died November, 1853.

him on my return home through New York. We can do much through these channels. I expect to see you soon.

In haste yours truly,  
EDMUND BURKE.

Gen. F. Pierce.

VI. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Confidential.

Hon. Franklin Pierce,

WASHINGTON, June 8, 1852.

*My dear Sir.*

I write to-day in relation to a matter personal to ourselves. Mr. Houston, Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means told me yesterday that he had been informed on good authority, that you were hostile to me, in fact, my enemy. When I was here in April last, I had a letter from a gentleman in New Hampshire informing me of the same fact and that the cause of it was some article in the *Argus* and *Spectator*; and in consequence you were opposed to my election to the Senate. Before receiving this letter, I had written to you my first letter in relation to your prospects for the Presidential nomination and received your reply; and the frankness and confidence expressed in the latter, led me at once to treat the intimation I had received as an idle rumor. Immediately after an intimate friend and relation of the gentleman who first wrote me, addressed a letter to me informing me that it was a mistake, and that you were not unfriendly to me. But the intimation from the Chairman of the *Committee of Ways and Means*, upon which I had supposed there was one of my personal friends from N. H. leads me to suspect that some one has not understood your relations with me and has given a wrong impression in regard to them; or that I have myself misunderstood the true spirit which has dictated your letters to me, as well as our personal interview at Newport. I believe that you have been misrepresented to Mr. Houston. But however it may be, I have no doubt you will have the frankness to say honestly and truly what your sentiments toward me are. If they be even as Mr. Houston has been informed, it will make no difference in the humble support I shall give to your nomination. I shall do all in my humble power to secure your election. That I owe to the great cause to which I have always been attached. But it may make some difference in the course I ought to pursue to accomplish that very object. It is more than probable that I shall be fixed upon to assume the editorial work of the *Union*<sup>1</sup> newspaper during the canvass. I seem to be the almost unanimous choice of our party in Congress for that position. But the consciousness that we are not friends, and that I was aiding to elevate my personal enemy to the White House, might dampen my ardor in the conflict, although I should do my best to prevent it. These considerations, if they are founded in fact, would render it very improper for

<sup>1</sup> *The Washington Union* (daily). See VIII, Pierce to Burke, June 14, 1852, p. 117. Burke was campaign editor of the *Union* during the late summer and autumn of 1852

me to take charge of the *Union*. The heart of the editor of that paper should go into the conflict with no secret sadness nor grief.— But for the good of our cause, which *must* triumph in this contest, I should not be the editor of the *Union* if our relations are really such as have been intimated to me since I have been in this city.

From the first moment I saw the prospect dawning for you, I have done my utmost to accomplish the great result. Your nomination was effected precisely as I supposed it must be if at all. I never had but one opinion about it. But I claim no credit to myself in bringing about this result. All your friends from N. H. did all in their power to accomplish it. My extensive acquaintance with the politicians of the *Union* gave me, perhaps, some advantage over other of your friends. There was not a delegation in the Convention in which there were not more or less members with whom I was acquainted. I have a pretty extensive acquaintance with leading German politicians, and editors, both native and naturalized. These were of some benefit to us, and I shall avail myself of this acquaintance to bring the foreign vote so far as possible to the support of our cause.

And finally whatever may be said and done by jealous and rival politicians in N. H. their calumnies cannot shake my standing with the Democracy of the *Union*. Most of them will have to work hard as I have done before they attain to the same position before the country at large. I have been free and full in this letter. For your good and that of our cause we ought to know how we stand in relation to each other, in order that I may not get into any position which will in the remotest degree affect unfavorably our great cause, which *must* now triumph, or it will fall not to rise again for a quarter of a century.

Your nomination is received with great enthusiasm. It unites all factions of our party and seems to inspire every one with confidence in our success.

I am, very truly your friend etc,

EDMUND BURKE.

Gen. F. Pierce.

#### VII. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, June 10, 1852.

*My dear Sir:*

Yesterday Mr. Ritchie<sup>1</sup> placed in my hands a letter from Robert G. Scott, Esq., of Richmond in relation to your answer to his letter addressed to the different Presidential candidates. I handed the letter to Gen. Peaslee to be communicated to you in the belief that it might be of some use to you in framing your reply to the letter of the committee appointed to inform you of your nomination.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ritchie, editor of *The Washington Union*.

<sup>2</sup> This committee consisted of J. S. Barbour, J. Thompson, Alpheus Field, and Pierre Soulé. The letter of notification referred to is still in existence.

The western men are also a little alarmed in consequence of your votes upon the River and Harbor appropriations while in Congress, which the *Republic* newspaper has collected and published. Perhaps this is a matter which it would be expedient for you to consider in your reply. The western men think the Whigs will argue to the people that you will veto *all* bills whatever for the improvement of Harbors and Rivers, which would make your election an uphill business in the West. On the other hand some western members, including Douglass and Richardson of Illinois and Dunham of Indiana, think it will not hurt you at all.

But those who think it will injure you in the West, say that if in your reply to the Committee you could in some general phraseology say that you entered public life during the eventful administration of Gen. Jackson whose principles you have ever maintained, referring to his course upon Internal Improvements, but finally coming down upon the Baltimore platform, as your true position, it would be well. They say they can stand up to a man to the principles of Gen. Jackson on that subject, but they cannot fully to the doctrine of Mr. Polk's veto message. You can and will weigh these matters carefully and deliberately and make such reference to them as you deem expedient or none at all.

The ratification meeting in this city last night was the largest I ever saw here. Messrs. Cass, Houston, Lane, Davis and others spoke. Father Ritchie<sup>1</sup> made a few remarks. These facts show that our party are thoroughly united and determined to win.

By judicious management all the foreign populations can be brought to your support. Dr. Hebbé the distinguished Swedish scholar, left for N. York yesterday to address the German societies in that city. He has also written to many of the leading German editors in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. And this morning I received a prospectus for a new paper in the Welsh language to be published in Pottsville, Pa. It will be the first one in the United States. It is endorsed by Hon. F. W. Hughes, Secretary of State for Pennsylvania.

Yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE

Hon. Franklin Pierce.

VIII. FRANKLIN PIERCE TO EDMUND BURKE (COPY).

CONCORD N H

June 14, 1852<sup>2</sup>

My dear sir :

I returned from my journey to-day and hasten to answer your letter of June 8th wh I found an hour since among a large package awaiting my arrival.

In the first place I should like to know M<sup>r</sup> Houston's authority. But without that, I will proceed to set matters right so far as we are con-

<sup>1</sup> Thomas Ritchie of the *Union*.

<sup>2</sup> Either this letter, or the reply of Burke (IX), perhaps each, is misdated. The error, however, is one of only a few days.

cerned. I can state distinctly, that the charge that I am yr. enemy has, so far as I know, no foundation in any act or word of mine. I had heard prior to the receipt of your letter in April that you were evidently unfriendly to me, and that if I desired to be brought before the National Convention, my first object should be to conciliate you. I uniformly replied, 1st, That I did not seek to be a candidate; 2d. That if it were otherwise, I would not turn on my heel to conciliate any man; and 3d. That I could not conceive that you were hostile, because I had always understood our relations to be of a friendly character. Your letter of April assured me that I had not misjudged and I supposed that we understood each other.

When I was informed of the controversy between yourself and Mr. Butterfield,<sup>1</sup> I expressed my deep regret, but was determined not to be in any way involved in it. I have not read the articles on either side, but I heard your first article freely commented on, and stated that if you had made a general assault upon the politicians of Concord, charging them with being under the influence of corporations and desiring to dictate to other parts of the State, such charges were groundless and unjustifiable, and in this I think few true men would differ with me. You have never been assailed by me. No act or word of mine justifies the charge. Now for the authority! What is charged and by whom?

I have received several letters from different gentlemen in relation to the "Union"<sup>2</sup> and matters connected therewith. As I understand the matter, it is a subject about which it would be neither politic nor just for me to speak. The democratic party have nominated me. They have presented a platform upon which I am willing to stand. I would not presume to enlarge or narrow it. The manner in wh., and the instrumentality through which, the nomination is to be sustained, must be left entirely to others. I shall not attempt to control, nor shall I, as at present advised, permit myself even to suggest.

I thank you for your frankness. It is the only way to maintain proper relations between friends personal or political.

Your friend,

FRANK PIERCE.

#### IX. EDMUND BURKE TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

WASHINGTON, June 14, 1852.

Hon. Franklin Pierce

My dear Sir,

I have deferred answering your letter of the 14th inst. until I could see Mr. Houston and learn from him the author of the intimation which he made to me and to which I referred in my letter of the 8th inst. I have not been able to see him until to-day, and I made enquiry of him in relation to the matter. He says he can not now recall to mind the per-

<sup>1</sup> Editor of the *New Hampshire Patriot and State Gazette*, published at Concord.

<sup>2</sup> See VI, Burke to Pierce, June 8, 1852, p. 115.

son from whom he derived the impression that we were not on friendly terms. He says he and several other gentlemen were discussing the propriety of my taking the editorial charge of the Union newspaper when some one remarked that it might not be agreeable to you for we were opposed to each other in our State politics. Mr. Houston says it was from this remark that he got the impression which he stated to me. But it is now of no account. Your letter leaves no ground for me to doubt that our personal relations are now, as they have always been, friendly. I am aware that it was unnecessary for you to court the favor of any man — a more fortunate position than that in which most men are placed — but I have never acted in bad faith with regard to your nomination. I wrote you fully and frankly from this city in April last, what I thought the condition of things was here. I expressed then, as I did after my return to New Hampshire by letter, and orally in our personal interview at Newport, my belief in the great probability of your nomination, and how it was to be brought about. And I steadily acted with that end in view. I knew it was not policy to bring you out as a candidate for the nomination at the outset, and that you could only be nominated as a compromise candidate, and in this our whole delegation, I believe, agreed and we acted accordingly. And, of course, you owe your nomination to no one of us, nor to any particular man, but to your own position and a fortunate combination of circumstances, the noble character of the Granite State having some little weight in the matter.

I am aware that the Concord people, and I count Mr. Butterfield among the foremost of them, circulated the story during the late session of the Legislature that I was opposed to your nomination to the last, and that it was made against my wishes and active opposition. This is a base calumny for which there is not one particle of foundation, and I have no doubt your sense of justice will induce you to correct it. At any rate, I intend that it shall be taken back by those who put it afloat. If I had been opposed to you in the critical period when a slight circumstance might have defeated you, humble as I am, if I had been so disposed, perhaps I might have accomplished it. I knew more men in that Convention than any other man from our State, and without vanity I think I may say that my standing with the Democracy of this nation is as good as that of any other delegate from N. H. If I had used the advantages which these circumstances gave me, at one time, possibly I might have had some influence on the result. They were all however used to promote your success, and not to prevent it. But enough on this point.

As to the quarrel between the Argus and Patriot, I understood from Mr. Baldwin, and now understand from yourself that you do not take part in it. I was glad to be thus assured of what I before believed was the truth about the matter.

As to the statements made in the first article in the Argus, I am not aware that they are untrue. The two leading statements are that Col. George did not carry the late election in N. H. as claimed by the Patriot ; and that a portion of the Democrats of Concord were too much connected

with corporations, and gave their countenance to corporate influence. Those statements were not published in the Argus until they had first been shown to leading democrats out of Sullivan Co. who concurred in them. I believe them to be true, and I stand by the truth without fear or favor from any man. If the records of various corporations at Concord and the history of our past legislature does not bear out what I say, then I will retract, but there is no power on earth that will make me retract what I believe to be true. I know a great many of the soundest and best democrats in New Hampshire concur with the Argus and with myself in this belief. The Argus has sustained in this controversy precisely the same principles which it sustained fifteen years ago, when it had the cordial support and encouragement of yourself and your venerated father. It has not changed on this matter of corporations. It did not move or change when the Patriot, and a large portion of the Democratic Party gave way on the Wilmot Proviso. And it will stand by its principles and flag, if it stands alone, no matter by whom it may be denounced. But I have dwelt longer on this topic than I intended.

Before this reaches you, you will have learned that Gen. Scott has been nominated. The nomination of Graham, with the platform, will generally unite the Whigs of the South. I think, with Gen. Scott's great and undisputed military services, it will require some effort on the part of the Democracy to beat him. I am afraid our friends have been all too confident of success. They seem to take it for granted that we are to carry the election. I cannot learn that they are doing much. They are not going into the combat with the promptness and energy which the occasion demands. I do not think our Central Executive Committee is made up of the right sort of men. Robert McLane of Baltimore is Chairman. He is a man of talents, but I think he has not the industry nor the practical experience necessary for getting up good political tracts. Dr. Gwin is also a man of ability and good sound sense, but he has too much California business to attend to. And Messrs. Edgerton and Penn [?] of the House, are neither of them the right sort of men for such duties as will devolve on the Executive Committee. Ten days ago I placed in the hands of the Committee a proposition with regard to the establishment of a Welsh paper in Pottsville, Pa. I had secured a letter from Col. Hughes, Secretary of State of Pennsylvania, with regard to the subject, and also communications from other gentlemen of that State. I supposed the matter would be attended to, but so far from that, on Monday last Mr. Penn [?] told me the *Committee had not organized*. Our friends here seem to think the battle is to be won without fighting.

I have had some opportunity to observe the effect of Scott's nomination, and am satisfied that it will very generally unite the Whig party. Many of the delegates from the South are now in the city, and I find that the adoption of a platform and the nomination of Graham has removed their objections to Scott, and all those Whig politicians in Congress, who have not so far committed themselves against Scott that they cannot honorably back out, will go in for him. I understand Gen. Dawson of

Ga. has already given in his adhesion. I am satisfied that the Whig party will be united under Scott and that with his unquestionably great military reputation and long public service he will be a hard candidate to beat. Therefore I think it is time for our party to lay aside the delusion that we are to gain an easy victory, and make up our minds for one of the hardest contests we have ever had I believe we shall be successful if we fight the battle as we ought. If we do not we shall be beaten.

I dined in company with Mr. Soulé and other gentlemen yesterday. Mr. S. spoke of his interview with you, and in the most complimentary terms of yourself. I think he was most agreeably disappointed. Col. Barbour also was highly delighted with his acquaintance with you. Both he and Mr. Soulé not only spoke most favorably of your deportment as a gentleman, but of your unblemished character and your knowledge of public affairs. I think it was very well that the Committee<sup>1</sup> visited you in person.

I have mentioned the name of Dr. Hebbé to you in former letters. His connection with and great influence over the foreign population, make it important to have him take the right course in this election. He is a Swede, by birth, and a man of profound learning and high character. He was educated in Germany and was expelled that country on account of his liberal principles. He is intimate with Kossuth, and other distinguished characters engaged in the European popular movements. He is a thorough and philosophical democrat and espouses our side from a conviction of its intrinsic merits. He has succeeded in bringing out several leading German papers in support of our nominations, which took a neutral position in consequence of Cass' defeat. He has also been to New York and addressed the foreign trade societies in that city urging upon them the support of our ticket. And being by birth a Scandinavian he desires to go through Iowa, Wisconsin, and other States of the West in which most of the Swedes, Norwegians and Danes reside, and address them before the election. He will also during the summer make you a visit, in order that he may speak to his countrymen of his personal knowledge of you. Mr. Fleischmann, a German, who was my principal draughtsman in the Patent Office, and recently consul at Wurtemberg, a man also of very great learning and attainments, has also assured me that he will stump it through the German regions. He will also visit you this summer for the same reason assigned by Dr. Hebbé. The grand ideas which are to be most potent in this election are sympathy for the liberals of Europe, the expansion of the Republic southward and westward and the grasping of the magnificent [prize? illegible] of the commerce of the Pacific — in short the ideas of which the term 'Young America' is the symbol. Both Hebbé and Fleischmann and Mr. Soulé and the young men of the Republic have these ideas moving them deeply.

As to the subject suggested in my letter by [illegible] Mr. French has written a sketch of your life which he read to Mr. Hubbard and myself

<sup>1</sup> See VII, Burke to Pierce, June 10, 1852, p. 116, note 2.

before he sent it away to be published. It was very well, but not sufficiently full and strong on some points. There is also a sketch of your life for sale at the book stores prepared, I understand, by Lester of New York. That is too expensive. We want a strong pointed biography in pamphlet form to be widely circulated by members of Congress. And we want also a good likeness of you. None has yet appeared. If you had sent me a daguerreotype engravings from it would have been on sale ten days ago. We want a biography to be translated into German. As I shall leave the city as soon as I can close up some business at the Patent Office I shall not now have time to attend to any of these matters. Pardon me this very long letter and believe me

ever yours truly,

EDMUND BURKE.<sup>1</sup>

X. G. C. HEBBÉ TO EDMUND BURKE.

Honorable Ed. Burke. WASHINGTON CITY July 15th 1852.

Dear Sir

I have many times already had great reasons to wish that you had remained here and lent your energy to the Central Committee which acts with deplorable imbecility. It was a great misfortune that you did not become a member of that Committee, and a no less one that you are not Editor of the Union. I have had several conferences with Dr. Gwin and Hon Mr. Senn [Penn?], but the committee has not yet collected so much money that it has dared to grant aid to those papers which I have recommended to its patronage. The Committee committed the blunder to order a Philadelphia paper to publish 25,000 copies in German of the life of General Pierce — when this order ought to have been given to Mr. Newman as recommended by myself — I told Mr. Penn yesterday that if Mr. Forney's advice is to be taken on such matters — the committee has to take upon themselves the responsibility of the consequences. The paper to which this order was given — is very influential in Pennsylvania —, but there is now much less hope to carry that State than New York — and consequently all ought to be done to secure the latter State — in which we have more hope to succeed — But it appears as the interests of certain individuals are to be promoted at hazard even to see the party defeated —

<sup>1</sup> Further information relating to the ante-convention movements which brought about Pierce's nomination is to be found in the files of the *Boston Daily Advertiser* (Whig) for November, 1853, and of the *Arkansas Whig* for December, 1853. These articles are based upon Burke's own story of how the "mysterious" nomination was effected, which appeared in the *State Capitol Reporter* (Concord) in October, 1853. For this paper, which was a violent anti-administration organ, Burke was for the time an editorial writer. Burke's story may also be found quoted in *The New Hampshire Statesman* (Concord) for October 29, 1853. In January, 1904, an article appeared in *The Minneapolis Journal* which sheds further light upon the nomination. The writer, a law-student in Concord in 1852, boarded in the same family with one Henry P. Rolfe, then a student in the law-office of Minot and Pierce, and bases his statements upon conversations taking place between himself and Rolfe on the day when the New Hampshire delegation left Concord for Baltimore.

I have had letters from Gen. Kossuth — in which he complains much of the deception which certain persons of the Democratic party have made themselves guilty of in regard to himself — and I have had the utmost difficulty in preventing him from taking steps which would undoubtedly have led to the disorganization and defeat of the Democratic party — I hope that General Pierce's letter to the Democrats of Philadelphia has satisfied Gen Kossuth at least to some degree — still I know that he expected from Gen. Pierce a still more explicit avowal in regard to the course of foreign policy which this country ought to pursue —, but I think, that the General could not say more in the present state of affairs

I have written an urgent appeal to the adopted citizens of Scandinavian birth to support General Pierce, and I hope that this appeal which appeared in the "Skandinoven" of last Saturday will have a good effect and give General Pierce at least 10,000 votes from that quarter.

I have also written about 35 letters to several German papers — and to English papers — urging upon the readers of these papers the necessity and duty to sustain the Democratic nominees — I intend to sail for Europe on Saturday from New York — but hope to return before the 1st of Sept. when I will have the honor to visit you and then begin to stump the States of New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Wisconsin and Iowa — From Europe I will transmit several letters to papers in these States in order to advocate the success of our party —

I am a democrat at heart because I consider that party — notwithstanding its many defects as the only one which at present can do any practical good for the advance of freedom throughout the world — I am, however, sorry to see that the influence of the South is preponderant here in Washington — It is a great mistake to think that the South can accomplish the victory of the Democratic party — when on the contrary it is clear that the result will chiefly depend upon the votes of the northern and western states —, where the votes of the adoptive citizens are decisive —

I have from Gen. Kossuth that General Pierce has promised to visit New York — and I hope that he will do so — as such a visit would probably do much to influence the people of that State.

I hope that you will exercise all your energy in behalf of the Democratic party — as I am fully convinced that you can do much for the success of our cause in the present struggle — I should be very glad to hear from you before my departure — and I think that a letter addressed to me — care of Nicholas Day 74 Wall Street New York — would reach me before the departure of the steamer on Saturday.

I have the honor to remain with the most sincere regards,

Dear Sir

Yours most truly,

G. C. HEBBE.

In great haste.

XI. JAMES CAMPBELL TO ARTHUR S. NEVITT.<sup>1</sup>POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,  
March 1, 1856.*Sir:*

I have thought it my duty to send you the enclosed copies of papers which have just been placed on file in this department. Not so much to satisfy myself upon any point made against you as to furnish the occasion for a statement calculated to satisfy all unprejudiced minds.

If there are persons in your office who sympathize with a political party hostile to the Democratic Party, and bound by secret oaths to principles contrary to the letter and spirit of the Constitution under which we live, you should know them and should neither employ them nor trust them.

I desire something more than a mere statement of your employees, that at a given time they do not belong to a Know-nothing organization. Have they been Know-nothings? Do they sympathize with that political organization? Is your chief clerk a Whig with Know-nothing sympathies? What was his action at the last election?

If you cannot answer these questions with confidence and satisfaction, changes must be made. Reformation in the office is due not only to the Department, but to yourself.

I wish you would answer promptly and fully.

I am, respectfully,

Your obt. servant,  
JAMES CAMPBELL.

Arthur S. Nevitt, Esq.,  
(P. M.) New Orleans, La.

XII. JOHN W. GEARY<sup>2</sup> TO FRANKLIN PIERCE.

Confidential.

Executive Department,  
LECOMPTON, Kansas Territory,  
December 22nd 1856.

His Excellency,

Franklin Pierce, President.

*My Dear Sir:*

The removal of Donaldson,<sup>3</sup> Clark and LeCompte<sup>4</sup> has been received here with general acclamations by the people, and men recently disposed to vilify and abuse you are loud in your praise. None blame you except those interested in having certain crimes laid in oblivion.

It is my duty to speak frankly and honestly to you, and from time to time I have done so without prejudice, fear or favor. The Country

<sup>1</sup> This letter is apparently in Pierce's handwriting, but is signed in lead-pencil, "James Campbell", and addressed to Arthur S. Nevitt, Postmaster, New Orleans, La.

<sup>2</sup> Governor of Kansas Territory.

<sup>3</sup> J. B. Donaldson, U. S. marshal for Kansas Territory.

<sup>4</sup> Samuel D. Lecompte, Chief Justice of Kansas Territory.

should know, and if I live long enough, it shall know, that the censure which has been heaped upon your administration for mismanagement in Kansas affairs is not attributable to you, but is the consequence of the criminal complicity of public officers some of whom you have removed the moment you were clearly satisfied of their true position.

I could not have credited it, unless I had seen it with my own eyes, and had the most conclusive evidence of the fact, that public officers would have lent themselves to carry out schemes which at once set at naught every principle of right and justice upon which the equality and existence of our government is founded. You know that there is no man in the Union, that more heartily despises the contracted creed of the abolitionists than I do, or more clearly perceives the pernicious tendency of their doctrines, and on this question I trust I am an impartial judge. The persecutions of the free-state men here was not exceeded by those of the early christians. I am not their vindicator, and wish not to extenuate the numerous outrages committed by them, the perpetrators of which, in due time, I will endeavor to bring, as well as others, to condign punishment, but I do say that the men holding official position have never given you that impartial information on the subject so necessary to form correct conclusions, which your high position so imperatively demanded. I wish not to speak of the injudicious and criminal proceedings of some of the emigrant aid societies and of the fanaticism which called some of them into existence, there are persons better versed in the origin of these movements who can explain them better than myself, but occupying the confidential and official relations I do to yourself, which at your pleasure I am most willing to lay at your feet, it is necessary that I, especially, should do "equal and exact" justice to that side of the question.

Let us go back then to the origin of the Kansas difficulty and see what was the agitating cause, or causes, and let us candidly examine whether or not *our friends* were faultless.

From the most reliable information I am satisfied that there was a settled determination in *high quarters* to make this a Slave State *at all hazards*; that policy was communicated to agents here, and that most of the public officers sent here were secured for its success. The consequence was that when Northern emigrants came here at an early day, *even before* the emigrant aid societies began to excite public attention, that certain persons along the borders of Missouri began to challenge unexceptionable settlers, and finding many not for a slave state, they were subjected to various indignities, and told that this soil, which previous to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise was devoted to freedom, did not belong to such as them, and *that they must settle in Nebraska*.

These immigrants, *highly conservative* in their character, excited by this unjust treatment, wrote back to their friends in the North and thus by a little indiscretion on the part of overzealous persons in Missouri a spark was ignited which nearly set the whole country in a flame. This virulent spirit of dogged determination to *force* slavery into this Terri-

tory, has overshot its mark and raised a storm which nothing but an honest return to the beneficent provisions of our Organic Act can quell. Lecompte, Donaldson, Clarke, Woodson<sup>1</sup>, CALHOUN<sup>2</sup> and Isaacs<sup>3</sup> were prominent actors in this fearful tragedy and willing tools to carry out this wicked policy. *They have therefore destroyed their public usefulness*, and their removal would be hailed with a tumult of joy by the entire population. But well do I appreciate your position in the matter and beyond your own sense of justice and propriety I would not desire you to go. Could it be done, it would restore you to that position in the popular affections which you so justly occupied at the period of your Inauguration.

I was much surprised and somewhat amused to learn to-day that Clark, the ex-agent, had just received a letter from Genl. Whitfield<sup>4</sup> in which the latter says that you told him that all the odium brought on your administration was the dire result of Clark's, Whitfield's, Atchison's,<sup>5</sup> Stringfellow's,<sup>6</sup> and others' indiscreet action. Why Whitfield would write thus when he owes his seat to you and me, I know not, but I am sure that *he never penned a greater truth*.

In your whole administration which has been remarkably eventful there is not a shadow of complaint except this Kansas Matter over which, with the dearth of reliable information, you could exercise little influence. Almost every public officer here, necessarily the channels of information, conspired to give you ex parte and prejudiced statements. It was natural and generous that you should believe men professing to be your friends in preference to others notoriously your enemies.

There is a plan in Westport, Mo. to invade the Territory with about 1000 men, to take possession of the "Shawnee Reserve", about the 20th of Feby. *The Indian agent lives there. Calhoun has been there 10 or fifteen days.* Can't you blow this conspiracy out of water?

On the Shanee [sic] Reserve, after the Indians have made their selections, there will remain about 1500 quarter sections for preemption.

I thank you for the firm and prompt manner with which you have sustained my policy and seconded my suggestions in the removal of the men indicated, and I earnestly trust you will be seconded in the good work.

<sup>1</sup> Daniel Woodson, secretary of the territory under Reeder, acting governor upon Reeder's removal, secretary under Governor Shannon, and again acting governor upon Shannon's resignation.

<sup>2</sup> John Calhoun, surveyor-general of Kansas Territory. Instrumental in prejudicing the administration against Geary. See Rhodes, II, 239.

<sup>3</sup> Isaacs, U. S. district attorney for Kansas Territory. See Davis to Pierce, July 23, 1857, to appear in the REVIEW for January, 1905.

<sup>4</sup> J. W. Whitfield, elected Delegate to Congress by the pro-slavery party, November 29, 1854.

<sup>5</sup> David R. Atchison, previously senator from Missouri.

<sup>6</sup> B. F. Stringfellow, co-editor of the *Squatter Sovereign*, published at Atchison, Kansas, which professed to be the organ of the Washington government in western Missouri.

I can, and will with the aid of the National Goverm't., make Kansas a model state, enriched with Democratic Institutions based upon the Constitution of the U. S., and blessed with all the rich treasures of learning, ennobled by virtue, intelligence and enterprise of the millions of freemen whom its exuberantly fertile soil is capable of supporting. After you have laid aside the cares of State, if I am called to remain here, I want you to give me the pleasure of a visit to Kansas. I will make a tour with you through the Territory. The salubrity of the climate, the beauty of the country and the warm reception I promise you from our generous people will compensate you for the trip.

With the assurance of my high regards I am devotedly your friend and obedient servant,

JNO. W. GEARY.